

Message Text

PAGE 01 HONG K 00002 300050Z

70

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 HONG KONG 9796

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

A. AS REGARDS THE OVERALL HARSHNESS WHICH CHOU AS WELL AS WANG DISPLAYED TOWARD THE U.S., ANY SURPRISE THIS HAS OCCASIONED IS PARTLY DUE TO EXAGGERATED CONCEPTIONS OF THE DEGREE TO WHICH CHOU WAS COMMITTED TO AN UNCRITICAL EMBRACE OF THE U.S. HOWEVER, SOME OF CHOU'S REMARKS-- E.G., THE LIKENING OF DEALING WITH THE U.S. TO NECESSARY COMPROMISES WITH A BANDIT--REFLECT AN ATTEMPT TO PRESENT A DOCTRINALLY CORRECT PERSPECTIVE ON CURRENT POLICIES, AND DOCTRINE REQUIRES AS EVEN-HANDED AS POSSIBLE A CONDEMNATION OF ALL FORMS OF "IMPERIALISM."

B. AS REGARDS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CHOU AND WANG ABOUT SURPRISE ATTACKS, IT IS WORTH NOTING, FIRSTLY, THAT WANG'S PEECH DEALT WITH THE NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION, INTENDED AS A LONG-TERM IDEOLOGICAL DOCUMENT, NOT AS CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 HONG K 00002 300050Z

COMMENTARY ON CURRENT PROBLEMS. AND WANG HIMSELF IS A SYMOBLC BRIDGE TO A FUTURE GENERATION. FROM THIS LONG PERSPECTIVE, THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE THREATS EMANATING FROM THE TWO FORMS OF IMPERIALISM BECOMES BLURRED.

SECONDLY, SINCE WANG'S ADDRESS WAS ALMOST CERTAINLY A JOINT PRODUCT APPROVED BY THE LEADERSHIP (AS, INDEED, CHOU'S PROBABLY WAS) ANY INTERNAL DIFFERENCES WERE DOUBTLESS APPROVED IN ADVANCE.

4. WHAT WE ARE SUGGESTING IS THAT THERE DO EXIST DIVERGENT VIEWPOINTS AT SOME LEVEL WITHIN THE CCP REGARDING RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND USSR, AND THAT THE DIVERGENT VIEWS ARE STRONGLY OR WIDELY ENOUGH HELD TO MAKE THE LEADERSHIP NOT ONLY RELUCTANT TO FOLLOW THEM, BUT ALSO DESIROUS OF ACCOMMODATING THEM WITHIN CONSENSUS SPECTRUM. BUT AS WE READ THE CONGRESS DOCUMENTS, THE DIVERGENT VIEWS WHICH SEEM TO BE ACCOMMODATED THEREIN ARE NOT DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED TO A NOKAO-CHOU INTERPRETATION OF THE WORLD SCENE. THERE IS NO ATTEMPT TO ACCOMMODATE THE VIEWS THAT THE U.S. IS THE PRINCIPAL THREAT OR THAT CHINA SHOULD ABANDON IDEOLOGICAL VIEWS HOWEVER, FOR THE SAKE OF DETENTE WITH MOSCOW. GIVEN THE TARRING OF LIN PIAO AS A SOVIET "SUPER-SPY" AND THE WARNINGS AGAINST FUTURE SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO SUBVERT THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP, SUCH A 180-DEGREE SHIFT SEEMS AS REMOTE AS EVER.

5. EVENTS SINCE THE CONGRESS ARE ALSO NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE SUPPOSITION THAT CHOU OR HIS POLICIES WERE DEFEATED OR REVERSED. DURING PRESIDENT POMPIDOU'S VISIT, IN WHICH WANG HUNG-WEN TOOK A LEADING ROLE, CHOU AGAIN STRESSED THE NEED FOR U.S. TROOPS IN EUROPE AND THEIR POSITIVE ROLE IN SOME PARTS OF ASIA. SINCE THIS SPRING, OTHER LEADING RADICALS HAVE PERSONALLY AND IMPLICITLY ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES WITH SINO-U.S. DETENTE. THE RADICAL BASE OF SHANGHAI HAS ALSO HARPED ON THE SOVIET THREAT, EMPLOYING CHOU'S FORMULATION ON "SURPRISE ATTACKS," WHILE OPPOSITION TO "BIG POWER HEGEMONISM" OF BOTH SUPERPOWERS HAS BEEN REAFFIRMED AS THE PRC'S MAIN THEORETICAL DIPLOMATIC LINE, THE CHINESE CONTINUE TO SOFT-PEDAL CRITICISM OF U.S. IMPERIALISM EVEN IN THE THIRD WORLD CONTEXT. FOR EXAMPLE, THE SPATE OF CHINESE ARTICLES ISSUED AT THE TIME OF THE RECENT NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE CONCENTRATED NOT ON THE U.S. CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 HONG K 00002 300050Z

BUT ON SOVIET POWER MOVES IN THE PERSIAN GULF, THE MID-EAST AND EVEN LATIN AMERICA (HONG KONG 8413).

6. CONSEQUENTLY, WE BELIEVE THAT THE PRIMARY ASPECT OF THE DIVERGENT VIEWPOINT IN PEKING WHICH THE CONGRESS SOUGHT TO ACCOMMODATE IS A DEMAND FOR MORE EVEN-HANDED STRESS ON THE "INHERENT HOSTILITY" TOWARDS PEOPLE'S CHINA OF "U.S. MONOPOLY-CAPITALISM" AS WELL AS THAT OF SOCIAL IMPERIALISM. THIS VIEW STEMS NOTABLY FROM LENINIST ORTHODOXY, BUT ALSO FROM THE SUSPICION THAT THE U.S. AS WELL AS THE SOVIET UNION IS CAPABLE OF CONFOUNDING CHINA'S ESTIMATES AND THAT THE PRC MUST BE PREPARED FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF THE U.S. SUDDENLY RETURNING TO A HOSTILE

POSTURE. THUS WANG PROBABLY MEANT HIS REFERENCE TO U.S. "SURPRISE ATTACKS" ALSO TO REFER TO THE UNEXPECTED RATHER THAN THE ANTICIPATED.

7. ONE IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE RESERVATIONS ABOUT BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. WHICH PEKING SEEMS TO HAVE ACCOMMODATED IS AN UNEASINESS ABOUT THE POSSIBLY INSIDIOUS IMPACT OF SINO-U.S. DETENTE ON POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY ATTITUDES. TO SOME IN CHINA, THE DANGER OF AMERICAN "SUGAR COATED BULLETS" MAY SEEM ALMOST AS THREATENING AS A SOVIET INTRIGUE AND BOTH WANG'S AND CHOU'S SPEECHES (APART FROM THE LATTER'S EXPOSE OF THE LIN PIAO AFFAIR) MENTION IMPERIALIST AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST SUBVERSION IN THE SAME BREATH. AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, CRITICISM OF THE CHINESE MEDICAL AND SCIENTIFIC DELEGATIONS WHICH VISITED THE UNITED STATES EARLIER THIS YEAR SUGGESTS THAT THERE IS SIGNIFICANT CONCERN WITHIN CHINA OVER THE IDEOLOGICAL FALLOUT OF SUCH EXCHANGES (HONG KONG 8549, HONG KONG 8261). ACCORDING TO SOME REPORTS, THE FRENCH ALSO RECENTLY DETECTED PRC INTERNAL DISPUTES OVER CULTURAL MATTERS WHICH THEY BELIEVE WILL LIMIT FUTURE CULTURAL CONTACTS.

8. WE DO NOT, HOWEVER, FORESEE A REPUDIATION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL VALUE OF SINO-U.S. EXCHANGES, PARTICULARLY THE VISIT OF AMERICANS AND OTHER FOREIGNERS TO CHINA. THIS CONCLUSION IS SUGGESTED BY THE CONTINUED OFFICIAL RECEPTION OF NUMEROUS VISITING CHINESE-AMERICAN SCIENTISTS, BUT THE CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 HONG K 00002 300050Z

REINSTITUTION OF TWO PREVIOUSLY POSTPONED U.S. EXCHANGE VISITS, AND BY INDICATIONS IN THE CHOU-POMPIDOU MEETINGS THAT PEKING VALUES THE CULTURAL AND OTHER EXCHANGES WITH FRANCE. ANOTHER RECENT INDICATION WAS THE ATTENDANCE OF CHIANG CHING AND YAO WNE-YUAN AT THE PHILADELPHIA SYMPHONY CONCERT ON SEPTEMBER 16 DURING WHICH THESE LEADERS DEMONSTRATED SUPPORT FOR A MAJOR U.S.-PRC EXCHANGE EVENT (PEKING 1065).

9. IN SUM, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT AT THIS TIME THERE IS SERIOUS FRONTAL OPPOSITION WITHIN THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP TO THE PRESENT FOREIGN POLICY OF MAO AND CHOU. ON THE CONTRARY, WE SEE THE REGIME BUILDING A CONSENSUS BEHIND ITS CURRENT TACTICS VIS-A-VIS THE SUPERPOWERS BY STRESSING THE LENINIST ORTHODOXY OF THE UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS (HONG KONG 9474) AND BY REASSURING THOSE WHO ARE UNEASY ABOUT LEANING TOO FAR TO ONE SIDE IN FAVOR OF THE U.S. WE BELIEVE THAT PARTS OF CHOU'S REPORT AS WELL AS THE GENERAL CAST OF WANG'S SPEECH REPRESENT SUCH AN EFFORT TO ACCOMMODATE A SPECTRUM OF OPINION AND DO NOT REFLECT AN UNSTABLE COMPROMISE BETWEEN IRRECONCILABLY OPPOSED VIEWS REGARDING CURRENT FOREIGN POLICY. HOWEVER, THOSE WHO HOLD THE MORE DOCTRINAIRE

VIEWS WHICH WERE ACCOMMODATED AT THE CONGRESS HAVE SET
THE STAGE FOR AN ESCALATION OF CRITICISM SHOULD PRESENT
POLICIES ENCOUNTER SERIOUS OBJECTVE SETBACKS.
OSBORN

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